

Message Text

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AMCONSUL MUNICH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 WARSAW 2664

EO 11652GDS
TAGS: PINT, PL
SUBJ: SEVENTH PARTY PLENUM CONVENES

REF: A. MEMO TO THE FILES APRIL 8, 1977, B. WARSAW 2165,
C. WARSAW 1349, D. WARSAW 1350

1. SUMMARY: THE SEVENTH PLENUM OF THE PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE
(APRIL 14-15) UNANIMOUSLY APPROVED PROPOSITIONS ENTITLED "PARTY TASKS
FOR DEEPENING SOCIALIST CONSCIOUSNESS AND PATRIOTIC UNITY OF THE
PEOPLE", WHICH, ALONG WITH A SPEECH BY PARTY FIRST SECRETARY
GIEREK, WERE ACCEPTED AS A GUIDE FOR THE ACTIVITIES OF ALL PARTY
ORGANIZATIONS. THE ACCOUNTS OF THE DISCUSSIONS DURING THE
PLENUM, WHICH APPEARED IN TRYBUNA LUDU OF APRIL 15 AND
16-17, INDICATE THAT THERE IS DISAGREEMENT OVER INTERPRETATION
OF THE RESOLUTIONS. DURING THE MEETING, ZBIGNIEW EIELINSKI,
DIRECTOR OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECTION FOR HEAVY
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INDUSTRY, TRANSPORT AND BUILDING, WAS MADE A MEMBER OF
THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARIAT. HIS APPOINTMENT IS BEING REPORTED
BY AIRGRAM. END SUMMARY.

2. THE RESOLUTION OF THE SEVENTH PARTY PLENUM DECLARED THAT
THE "PARTY TASKS FOR DEEPENING SOCIALIST CONSCIOUSNESS
AND PATRIOTIC UNITY OF THE PEOPLE", TOGETHER WITH THE SPEECH BY

EDWARD GIEREK, CONSTITUTED A LONG-RANGE PROGRAM WHOSE GOALS WAS TO STRENGTHEN THE PARTY FURTHER, DEEPEN THE UNBREAKABLE TIES WITH THE PEOPLE, SPEED THE REALIZATION OF THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE SEVENTH PARTY CONGRESS, AND FIGHT CONCRETELY AGAINST ANTI-POLISH AND ANTI-SOCIALIST PHENOMENA. IT SAID THE PROGRAM SHOULD INDUCE GREATER ACTIVISM IN DEVELOPING THE COUNTRY.

3. EDWARD GIEREK INTRODUCED THE DISCUSSIONS OF THE SEVENTH PLENUM AS AN "IDEOLOGICAL FOUNDATION" FOR THE WORK OF ALL PATRIOTIC CITIZENS. GIEREK EMPHASIZED THAT THE PRINCIPAL TASK, NATIONAL UNITY, MUST BE REALIZED THROUGH THE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION OF ALL BRACHES OF SOCIETY, SOLID WORK, PATRIOTISM, AND BASIC ACCEPTANCE OF SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES. FOCUSING ON THE RESULTS HE EXPECTED FROM THE PLENUM PROGRAM, THE FIRST SECRETARY MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS: A) POLISH YOUTH MUST BE TAUGHT TO ANALYZE FROM A SOCIALIST VIEWPOINT AND TO DISCERN THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN "REALISTIES AND APPEARANCES." THIS HAS PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE IN THIS TIME OF "INTENSIFIED IDEOLOGICAL CONFRONTATION." YOUTH MUST BE TAUGHT THE FUNDAMENTAL VALUES LEARNED DURING THE EARLY DAYS OF REBUILDING POLAND. THE IDEOLOGICAL CONTENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION SHOULD BE INCREASED. B) THERE STILL EXIST IN POLAND SOCIAL MANIFESTATIONS SUCH AS CLIQUES, WASTAGE OF PUBLIC RESOURCES, OPPORTUNISM, INDIFFERENCE, EGOISM, DISHONESTY, DRUNKENNESS, AND A "DUPLICITY" EXPRESSED BY SAYING ONE THING OFFICIALLY AND ANOTHER PRIVATELY. RESPONSIBILITY FOR OVERCOMING THESE MANIFESTATIONS LIES WITH ALL ECONOMIC, ADMINISTRATIVE, CULTURAL, AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS. C) THE ROLE OF WORKERS' SELF-MANAGEMENT ORGANIZATIONS AND CONSULTATIONS WITH SOCIETY SHOULD INCREASE. D) PARTY MEMBERS

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HAVE A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY TO PRESENT AND DEFEND THEIR OPINIONS. E) THE MEDIA SHOULD HAVE GREATER INFLUENCE ON SOCIETY'S OPINIONS AND SHOULD PRESENT MORE PENETRATING DISCUSSIONS OF PROBLEMS.

4. GIEREK MADE A STRONG DEFENSE OF THE SOCIALIST INTER-
PRETATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, IE, IN PARTICULAR THOSE GUARANTEEING
WORK, EDUCATION, HEALTH CARE, AND A HOME. HE SAID THE POLISH POST-
WAR EXPERIENCE BEST DEMONSTRATES THAT "CASTING OFF
BOURGEOIS PLURALISM OPENS THE ROAD TO REAL DEMOCRACY."
HE REPEATED HIS FORMULATION THAT A FEW
ENEMIES OF SOCIALISM EXIST WITHIN POLAND FOR WHOM THE POST-WAR
SUCSESSES ARE "SALT IN THEIR EYES." HE SAID ALL NECESSARY
MEASURES WOULD BE TAKEN AGAINST THEM, BUT PRINCIPALLY,
UNMASKING THEM BEFORE SOCIETY." GIEREK PRAISED POLAND'S
ALLIANCE WITH THE SOVIET UNION. HE SAID THAT RELATIONS WITH SEVERAL
WESTERN COUNTRIES, AMONG THE THE UNITED STATES, REPRESENTED
A "CONSISTENT REALIZATION" OF THE HELSINKI PRINCIPLES AND ADDED
THAT SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE TOWARD NORMALIZING RELATIONS

WITH THE FRG.

5. ANALYSIS: WE SEE THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE PLENUM AND GIEREK'S SPEECH, TAKEN AS A WHOLE, AS A CONTINUATION OF GIEREK'S POLICIES OF MODERATION TOWARD DISSIDENTS AND SUPPORT FOR CRITICISM WITHIN THE SYSTEM. WHILE MUCH OF THE RHETORIC IS FAMILIAR, WE NOTICE SEVERAL THEMES WHICH REFLECT THE INFLUENCE OF CRITICISM MADE BY THE PARTY "FUNDAMENTALISTS" IN ITS LETTER TO THE PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE (REF A). THESE INCLUDE SUPPORT FOR THE "FUNDAMENTAL VALUES" LEARNED DURING THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF POLAND, EMPHASIS ON IMPROVING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE AUTHORITIES AND THE PUBLIC AND REFERENCE TO THE "DUAL STANDARD" OF BEHAVIOR, WHICH IS A MANIFESTATION

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OF PUBLIC LIFE.

6. TRYBUNA LUDU'S REPORT OF THE DISCUSSION FOLLOWING GIEREK'S SPEECH INDICATE THAT OPINIONS ABOUT THE TASKS OF DEEPENING SOCIALIST CONSCIOUSNESS ARE FAR FROM UNANIMOUS. ONE VEHICLE FOR EXPRESSING DISCONTENT IS COMMENTARY ABOUT THE FILM "MAN OF MARBLE", WHICH CRITICIZES THE STALINIST YEARS AND WHICH REPORTEDLY HAS GIEREK'S SUPPORT (REF B). VOIVODESHIP PARTY FIRST SECRETARIES BOLESŁAW KOPERSKI FROM

LODZ, JOZEF GRYGIEL FROM CZESTOCHOWA, AND JOZEF BUZINSKI FROM GIELSKO-BIALA ALL CRITICIZED THE FILM. KOPERSKI IN EFFECT ACCUSED DIRECTOR ANDRZEJ WAJDA OF MISUNDERSTANDING THE "MOOD OF THE FACTORY" AND MAKING THE FILM IN THE "CAFE STYLE" WHICH "HARMS THE COUNTRY." ANOTHER SOURCE OF DISGRUNTLEMENT OVER GEIEREK'S SPEECH APPEARS IN THE FORM OF OBJECTIONS TO THE NEW POLICY TO OPEN PRESS CRITICISM OUTLINED FEBRUARY 23 (REFS C AND D). THE CHIEF EDITOR
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OF TRYBUNA LUDU, JOZEF BARECKI, COMPLAINED THAT THE NEW POLICY IS NOT ALWAYS USED AS A TOOL FOR IMPROVING SOCIETY. ZYCIE WARSZAWY CHIEF EDITOR BOHDAN ROLINSKI CHARGED THAT THE VERY ADVOCATES OF "RELIEVING THE PRESS OF THE PROPAGANDA OF SUCCESS" WERE UNWILLING TO CITICIZE THEIR OWN ACTIVITIES. CZESTOCHOWA PARTY CHIEF GRYGIEL CALLED FOR THE KIND OF CTITICISM THAT "GIVES US A FEELING OF OPTIMISM."

7. THE MAJORITY OF THE SPEAKERS, HOWEVER, SUPPORTED GIEREK'S POSITION. WHILE NO ONE HAILED WAJDA'S FILM, SEVERAL SPEAKERS SUPPORTED THE DECISION TO PRESENT IT. THE TSAR OF RADIO AND TELEVISION, MACIEJ SCZEPANSKI, SAID THAT THE PROPER CLIMATE FOR ARTISTIC ACHIEVEMENT BENEFICIAL TO SOCIALISM WAS ONE WHERE ARTISTS "HAVE THE RIGHT TO MAKE MISTAKES." THE DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS, KAZIMIERZ KAKOL, SAID THAT "SOME RECENT CONTROVERSIAL FILMS" PRESENTED A "HALF TRUTH", BUT ARGUED THAT THE FILMS COULD BE USED TO THE PARTY'S ADVANTAGE THROUGH ACTIVE DISCUSSION. LIEKWISE, THE MAJORITY OF SPEAKERS SUPPORTED INCREASED PRESS CRITICISM. THE CHIEF EDITOR OF THE PARTY MONTHLY, NOWE DORGI, STANISLAW WRONSKI, SAID, "THE ONLY WAY TO CORRECT ERRORS ALREADY COMMITTED IS BY SELF-CTIFITCAL ACTION MAKING GOOD THE DAMAGE CAUSE BY THE ERROR."

8. A PRINCIPAL THEME RUNNING THROUGH THE DISCUSSION WAS THAT IDEOLOGICAL CONFRONTATION HAD INCREASED AS A RESULT OF ACTIVITIES IN THE WEST. DOMESTIC DISSIDENTS WERE SEVERELY CTITICIZED AND SEVERAL SPEAKERS WARNED OF TIES BETWEEN DIVERSIONARY FORCES IN THE WEST AND ANI-SOCIALIST CIRCLES IN POLAND. HOWEVER, THE GENERAL LINES OF THE PROPOSED COUNTER-OFFENSIVE APPEAR DIRECTED LESS AGAINST THE OPPONENTS AND MORE IN FAVOR OF IMPROVING THE PARTY IMAGE. WROCLAW PARTY FIRST SECRETARY SAID THE "GREATEST ENEMY" OF THE PEOPLE'S COUNCILS WAS "ROUTINE AND FORMALIZATION" OF THEIR ACTIVITIES. TRYBUNA LUDU
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JOURNALIST RYSZARD WOJNA CALLED FOR INCREASED IDEOLOGICAL
ACTIVITY BASED ON "THE TRADITIONAL BROAD FOUNDATION OF
POLISH TOLERANCE".

9. A NEWSPAPER EDITOR RECENTLY TOLD AN EMBASSY OFFICER
THAT INTRA-PARTY CONTROVERSY COULD BE EXPECTED TO
APPEAR IN THE PRESS UNTIL THE PARTY CONFERENCE IN DECEMBER,
"WHEN THINGS WILL BE SETTLED." HE MADE THE POINT
THAT INCREASED CRITICISM OF PAST ACTIONS IS SUPPORTED BY
THOSE WHO WERE NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR THEM, SUCH AS STEFAN
OLSZOWSKI, AND OPPOSED BY THOSE WHO WERE. END ANALYSIS.

DAVIES

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